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LETTER DATED 31 MARCH 1995 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQ TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a letter dated 28 March 1995 from Mr. Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq, concerning the acts of aggression against Iraq and the violations of its territorial integrity that have been committed since March 1991.

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Nizar HAMDOON
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

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Annex

Letter dated 28 March 1995 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the President of the Security Council

I should like to begin by pointing out that in the preamble to its resolution 687 (1991) the Security Council affirms the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Iraq. There can be no doubt that for Iraq, as a founder Member of the United Nations and like other Member States, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence are based on the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and on such basic principles of international law as the sovereign equality of States and the obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other State or in any other manner incompatible with the purposes of the United Nations.

Despite all of these provisions, however, and despite the stipulations of resolution 687 (1991), ever since March 1991 Iraq has been the object of acts of aggression and of grave violations of its sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence. These grave violations have been committed by States Members of the United Nations, some of them Iraq's neighbours and some of them States permanent members of the Security Council, in particular the United States of America and the United Kingdom. So that the picture will be clear to you and to the other members of the Council, we present the following facts:

1. Since March 1991, Iran has committed 1,040 violations or acts of aggression. The Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs has kept the United Nations informed of all these violations in letters and official notes.

2. Between 1991 and March 1995 Turkey committed 56 violations. Iraq has protested against these violations in official notes addressed to the Turkish authorities. The most recent of these Turkish violations of Iraq's sovereignty is still under way, and large numbers of heavily armed Turkish troops are now inside Iraqi territory in northern Iraq on the pretext that they are in hot pursuit of an armed Turkish group opposed to the Turkish regime.

3. Since 1991 the United States of America and the United Kingdom have been engaged in ongoing aggression against Iraq that threatens the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence. They are using their military power to impose no-fly zones that exclude Iraqi aircraft of all types from northern and southern Iraq. This illegal and unlawful measure continues to represent a grave violation and a direct threat to the security of Iraq and to its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Between 9 May 1991 and 16 March 1995, in northern Iraq alone, United States and British military aircraft violated Iraqi airspace 36,362 times for purposes of aggression, provocation and espionage. In southern Iraq the number of such violations has been even greater, and the United Nations has been notified of all of them in official letters from Iraq.

Despite its powers under the Charter, the Security Council has taken no action and adopted no resolutions to address or prevent, as it is required to do by the provisions of the Charter and the norms of international law, the repetition of these flagrant and serious violations of Iraq's sovereignty, security and territorial integrity. The flagrant violation of Iraq's sovereignty and the grave threat posed to its security and territorial integrity constitute an alarming failure on the part of the Security Council not only to maintain international peace and security, which is its function, but also to implement the provisions of its own resolutions and primarily resolution 687 (1991), which affirms commitment to Iraq's sovereignty.

Iraq is exposed to real dangers because of this anomalous situation, particularly when the Security Council remains heedless of the actions taken against Iraq by neighbouring States and when two permanent members of the Council are involved in violating Iraq's sovereignty and in greatly jeopardizing its territorial integrity. This alarming situation represents a unique case in Iraq's modern history, inasmuch as violations of its sovereignty and territorial integrity are being repeated with unparalleled contempt for the Charter of the United Nations and in a climate where there is complete silence from the Security Council.

The foregoing clearly shows the retreat from justice and law in international relations and the growth of opportunism in the conduct of certain Member States. The situation has been reached where countries use their armies to violate the sovereignty of other countries on the pretext of being in pursuit of elements that oppose them abroad, an example being the action taken by Turkey in northern Iraq, or where the Governments of certain States impose their own interpretation of Security Council resolutions in order to accord with their own political objectives, an example being the illegal and unlawful measures being taken by the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom in imposing no-fly zones in northern and southern Iraq. We wonder, and the whole world wonders with us, whether this strange phenomenon has become a substitute for the provisions of the Charter and whether it has become acceptable conduct in relations between States.

In presenting you with these facts and questions, I call your attention and that of the other members of the Security Council to the serious violations committed against my country and to the silence of the Security Council in their regard. The Council has the duty to meet its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations in such a way as to ensure the preservation of the sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of Member States.

I am transmitting to you herewith lists of the violations to which reference is made in this letter (enclosures I and II).

In closing, I request you to have this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council and to bring it to the attention of Council members.

(Signed) Mohammed Said AL-SAHAF
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the
Republic of Iraq

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Enclosure I

Protests addressed to the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Baghdad concerning Iranian violations committed in 1994 and 1995

No.	Date of violation	Note No.	Date	Type of violation
1	12/1/94	23/1/8/126031	26/1/94	Violations by an aircraft at Kuwaysanjaq
2	18/1/94	23/1/8/126031	26/1/94	Entry of a force into Sulaymaniyah
3	11/3/94	23/1/8/126091	18/3/94	Bombardment of the Wadi Kadiri area, Raniyah district
4	12/3/94	23/1/8/126096	20/3/94	Bombardment of villages in the Qal'at Dizah area
5	9/3/94	23/1/8/126001	7/4/94	Overflight of Naft Khanah station by a helicopter
6	30-31/3/94	23/1/8/126109	7/4/94	Seizure of a boat with fishermen
7	8/1/94	23/1/8/126018	19/1/94	Overflight of Kuwaysanjaq by several aircraft
8	13-14/4/94	23/1/8/126129	24/4/94	Bombardment of villages to the north of Penjwin and Hajj Umran
9	13/4/94	23/1/8/126128	24/4/94	Seizure of fishermen and their boat
10	17/4/94	23/1/8/126135	2/5/94	Bombardment of a wadi to the east of Qal'at Dizah
11	24/4/94	23/1/8/126146	9/5/94	Artillery bombardment of Penjwin township
12	28/4/94	23/1/8/126146	9/5/94	Bombardment of areas to the east of Qal'at Dizah
13	23/5/94	23/1/8/126186	9/6/94	Interception of a Russian ship and a tug
14	21/4/94	23/1/8/126148	11/5/94	Interception of the UAE tug Shayma' II
15	25/4/94	23/1/8/126154	14/5/94	Interception of a tanker
16	5/94	23/1/8/126159	18/5/94	Dispatch of provocative patrols and harassment and seizure of boats
17	8/5/94	23/1/8/126160	19/5/94	Interception of the tanker Al-Fida'
18	29/3/94	23/1/8/126157	18/5/94	Interception of the UAE tug Shayma' II
19	31/3/94	23/1/8/126157	18/5/94	Interception of the Indian launch Nasrat
20	5/4/94	23/1/8/126157	18/5/94	Interception of a tug in the Shatt al-Arab
21	13/4/94	23/1/8/126157	18/5/94	Interception of a ship
22	13/4/94	23/1/8/126157	18/5/94	Interception of a tug
23	14/4/94	23/1/8/126157	18/5/94	Interception of a ship
24	15/4/94	23/1/8/126157	18/5/94	Interception of pilot cutter 806
25	16/4/94	23/1/8/126157	18/5/94	Interception of a tug
26	8/5/94	23/1/8/126160	19/5/94	Aggression against the ship Al-Fida'
27	8/5/94	23/1/8/126160	19/5/94	Aggression against the ship Al-Fida'
28	13/5/94	23/1/8/126160	19/5/94	Aggression against the ship Al-Fida'
29	13/5/94	23/1/8/126167	28/5/94	Fresh interception of the ship Al-Fida'
30	14/5/94	23/1/8/126167	28/5/94	Interception of the same ship

No.	Date of violation	Note No.	Date	Type of violation
31	5/5/94	23/1/8/126172	30/5/94	Interception of a UAE tug
32	3/5/94	23/1/8/126175	31/5/94	Interception of the Iraqi tanker Anne
33	24/5/94	23/1/8/126175	31/5/94	Interception of a UAE tug
34	5/5/94	23/1/8/126181	8/6/94	Interception of the tug Al-Mithaq
35	24/6/94	23/1/8/126213	2/7/94	Assault on Iraqi units at Shihabi
36	25/4/94	23/1/8/126213	2/7/94	Provocations at the Mundhiriyah post
37	25/4/94	23/1/8/126226	6/7/94	Provocations at the Mundhiriyah post
38	7/94	23/1/8/126237	20/7/94	Provocations at the Mundhiriyah post
39	7/7/94	23/1/8/126242	24/7/94	Provocations and violations against the ship Chrysalis
40	2/7/94	23/1/8/126244	26/7/94	Interception of the Iraqi pilot cutter
41	21/7/94	23/1/8/126258	1/8/94	Aggression against an Iraqi fishing boat
42	24/7/94	23/1/8/126258	1/8/94	Interception of the tug Al-Warka'
43	8/8/94	23/1/8/126278	17/8/94	Aggression against an Iraqi boat
44	14/8/94	23/1/8/126287	24/8/94	Aggression and provocation against an Iraqi boat
45	10/8/94	23/1/8/126284	22/8/94	Interception of the ship Al-Bakr
46	7/8/94	23/1/8/126303	26/8/94	Interception of an Iraqi Port Authority boat
47	14/8/94	23/1/8/126303	26/8/94	Renewed aggression against the same boat
48	22/8/94	23/1/8/126344	19/9/94	Interception of a fishing boat
49	10/9/94	23/1/8/126328	15/9/94	Interception of the ship Nadiyah
50	10/9/94	23/1/8/126328	15/9/94	Interception of the ship Anne
51	9/9/94	23/1/8/126343	19/9/94	Interception of the foreign ship UUF
52	24/8/94	23/1/8/126345	21/9/94	Interception of the ship Al-Fida'
53	30/8/94	23/1/8/126352	25/9/94	Interception of a research vessel
54	18/7/94	23/1/8/126263	3/8/94	Interception of the tug Al-Jumhuriyah
55	29/6/94	23/1/8/126354	27/9/94	Aggression against the ship Ayman
56	29/6/94	23/1/8/126354	27/9/94	Aggression against the ship Nadir
57	29/6/94	23/1/8/126354	27/9/94	Aggression against the ship Al-Anwar
58	7/8/94	23/1/8/126354	27/9/94	Aggression against the naval navigation boat
59	7/8/94	23/1/8/126354	27/9/94	Aggression against the pilot cutter
60	10/8.94	23/1/8/126354	27/9/94	Aggression against the ship Al-Bakr
61	14/8/94	23/1/8/126354	27/9/94	Aggression against boat No. 4/2
62	15/8/94	23/1/8/126354	27/9/94	Aggression against the pilot cutter
63	15/8/94	23/1/8/126354	27/9/94	Aggression against the pilot cutter

No.	Date of violation	Note No.	Date	Type of violation
64	18/9/94	23/1/8/126353	25/9/94	Detention of the ship Badir
65	19/9/94	23/1/8/126353	25/9/94	Detention of the ship Tarimkan
66	20/9/94	23/1/8/126365	1/10/94	Interception of the Qatari ship Badir
67	20/9/94	23/1/8/126365	1/10/94	Interception of the Qatari ship Taykan
68	16/6/94	23/1/8/126205	25/6/94	Violation of Iraqi airspace by several aircraft
69	2/9/94	23/1/8/126323	8/9/94	Interception of the ship Shayma' II
70	3/9/94	23/1/8/126323	8/9/94	Interception of the tug Al-Mithaq
71	12/10/94	23/1/8/126384	30/10/94	Detention of two Iraqi launches
72	8/11/94	23/1/8/126401	13/11/94	Detention of the tug Nisan 7
73	6/11/94	23/1/8/126391	6/11/94	Military aggression (firing of missiles in the Naft-e Shah area)
74	5/8/94	23/1/8/126277	16/8/94	Interception of a fishing boat
75	29/8/94	23/1/8/126312	31/8/94	Shooting at the Iraqi flag
76	12/9/94	23/1/8/126334	19/9/94	Preventing replacement of the Iraqi flag
77	9/11/94	23/1/8/126399	10/11/94	Aerial bombardment of Kuwaysanjaq and Taqtaq
78	2/4/94	23/1/8/126116	11/4/94	Seizure of an Iraqi boat
79	10/1/95	23/1/8/126040	5/2/95	Seizure of an Iraqi fishing boat
80	11/2/95	23/1/8/126052	14/2/95	Assault on the positions of our units in Hawr al-Hawizah and the Baydah area

Total number of acts of aggression and violations in connection with which a protest was lodged in 1994: 78	Total number of protest notes for 1994: 50
Total number of acts of aggression and violations in connection with which a protest was lodged in 1995: 2	Total number of protest notes for 1995: 2

Enclosure II

Protests addressed to the Embassy of Turkey in Baghdad concerning Turkish violations committed in 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994 and 1995

1. 1991

No.	Date	No.	Reason
1	7 August	7/3/4/1/66322	Infiltration of our territory by military forces
2	14 August	7/3/4/1/66330	Violation of our territory by the army
3	26 August	7/3/4/66372	Violation of our airspace by helicopters
4	26 August	32/2/5/1622	Violation of our airspace by aircraft, and bombing of various targets
5	27 August	23/2/5/26015	Continued violation of our airspace by aircraft, and bombing of targets near the Dukan dam and in other areas
6	11 October	7/3/4/1/16484	Bombing by eight aircraft of targets in three villages inside our territory
7	24 October	23/2/5/26046	Bombing by aircraft of villages inside our territory

2. 1992

No.	Date	No.	Reason
1	3 March	7/3/4/1/66150	Violation of our territory by aircraft
2	10 March	7/3/4/1/66169	Air raid by the Air Force on targets inside our territory
3	16 March	7/3/4/1/66198	Air raid by the Air Force on targets inside our territory
4	26 March	7/3/4/1/66236	Air raid by the Air Force on targets inside our territory
5	22 April	23/2/5/126064	Aerial bombardment of the Khatuk and Suraji areas
6	11 May	23/2/5/126073	Attacks on our territory to a depth of 5 kilometres
7	2 June	23/2/5/126082	Air raid on the villages of Duri and Barwari
8	7 June	23/2/5/126087	Air raid on the villages of Khwakark, Birkaman, Lulan and Daraw
9	30 June	23/2/5/126104	Air raids on a number of villages inside our territory
10	19 July	23/2/5/126114	Air raids on a number of villages inside our territory

3. 1993

No.	Date	No.	Reason
1	15 April	23/2/5/22	Statement by President Demirel after meeting with the lackey Talabani to the effect that Talabani and Barzani were protecting the border area and that the lackey Barzani had requested assistance in order to bring electric power generators into service
2	21 April	23/2/5/27	Visit to northern Iraq of an official Turkish delegation representing the Government that was led by an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and included representatives of the ministries of health, agriculture and industry

3	12 June	23/2/5/70	Visit to northern Iraq by a group of Western diplomats (from the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia) accompanied by a Turkish diplomat
4	23 June	23/2/79	Entry into our territory of ground forces assisted by aircraft
5	14 September	23/2/5/155	Visit to northern Iraq by an assistant to the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs on the pretext of providing humanitarian assistance
6	6 October	23/2/178	Artillery bombardment of parts of the city of Zakho
7	12 October	23/2/8/181	Artillery bombardmant of several villages inside our territory
8	22 November	23/2/8/212	Entry of a force 15 kilometres inside our territory
9	11 December	23/2/8/226	Aerial bombardment of border villages inside our territory
10	19 December	23/2/8/235	Aerial bombardment of villages inside our territory
11	27 December	23/2/8/245	Aerial bombardment of villages inside our territory

4. 1994

No.	Date	No.	Reason
1	4 January	23/2/8/126003	Aerial bombardment of areas in Dohuk Governorate
2	26 January	23/2/8/126029	Entry of a force into Iraqi territory in Dohuk Governorate
3	28 January	23/2/8/126036	Entry of a force into Iraqi territory at Qal'at Dizah
4	8 February	23/2/8/126051	Bombardment of the villages of Mizi and Darri in the Iraqi-Turkish border strip area
5	30 March	23/2/8/1260126	Aerial bombardment of areas in Dohuk Governorate
6	23 April	23/2/8/126130	Violations of Iraqi territorey in Dohuk Governorate by ground forces and aircraft
7	7 May	23/2/8/126143	Aerial bombardment of Zakho, Amadiyah, Raniyah and other areas
8	26 May	23/2/8/126166	Aerial bombardment of an area to the east of Qal'at Dizah in Irbil Governorate
9	21 July	23/2/8/126238	Artillery bombardment of the Zakho district, and aerial bombardment of the Kani Masi area and of areas to the north-east of Amadiyah
10	11 August	23/2/8/126270	Aerial bombardment of areas to the north-east of Amadiyah
11	13 August	23/2/8/126273	Aerial bombardment of areas to the north of Amadiyah
12	21 August	23/2/8/126282	Aerial bombardment of the Sayyid Kan district of Irbil Governorate
13	27 August	23/2/8/126291	Aerial bombardment of the Dukan district
14	29 August	23/2/8/126309	Aerial activity
15	13 September	23/2/8/126325	Aerial bombardment of the Zakho district
16	17 September	23/2/8/126331	Artillery and aerial bombardment of the area to the north of Amadiyah
17	22 September	23/2/8/126346	Aerial bombardment of the Zakho district
18	27 September	23/2/8/126355	Artillery and aerial bombardment of Amadiyah and Zakho
19	29 September	23/2/8/126362	Aerial bombardment of the Zakho area

No.	Date	No.	Reason
20	10 October	23/2/8/126368	Entry of a two-brigade force into Iraqi territory, and aerial bombardmant of Amadiyah
21	12 October	23/2/8/126370	Aerial activity
22	12 October	23/2/8/126373	Aerial bombardment of Zakho
23	13 October	23/2/8/126374	Aerial bombardment of Zakho and Amadiyah
24	23 October	-	Military operations in the Harkuk area until 10 November
25	31 October	23/2/8/126385	Artillery and aerial bombardment of the Zakho district
26	29 December	23/2/8/126445	Aerial bombardment of Amadiyah

5. 1995

No.	Date	No.	Reason
1	3 January	23/2/8/126002	Aerial bombardment of the Zakho district and parts of the Sandiyah area
2	2 February	23/2/6/126031	Aerial bombardment of villages to the north and north-east of Zakho
3	21 March	-	Military operations more than 24 kilometres inside Iraqi territory

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